Facts About the British Empire Union.

Workers' Dreadnought

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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LINES FROM CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN.

What's That?

I met a little person on my land
A-fishing in the waters of my stream;
He seemed a man, yet could not understand
Things that to most men very simple seem.

"Get off!" said I, "This land is mine, my friend;
Get out! This brook belongs to me!
I own the land, and you must make an end
Of fishing here so free!

"I own this place, the land and water too!
You have no right to be here, that is flat!
Get off it! That is all I ask of you!——"
"Own it!" said he—"What's that?"

"What's that?" said I, "Why that is common sense!
"I own the water and the fishing right—
I own the land from here to yonder fence—
Get off, my friend, or fight!"

He looked at the clear stream so neatly kept—
He looked at teaming vine and laden tree,
And wealthy fields of grain that stirred and slept—
"I see!" he cried, "I see!

"You mean you cut the wood and ploughed the field,
From your hard labour all this beauty grew—
To you is due the richness of the yield—
You have some claim, 'tis true!"

"Not so!" said I, with manner very cool,
And tossed his purse into the air and caught it.
"Do I look like a labourer, you fool?
"It's mine because I bought it!"

Again he looked as if I talked in Greek,
Again he scratched his head and twirled his hat;
Before he mustered wit enough to speak—
"Bought it!" said he—"What's that?"

And then he said again, "I see! I see!"
You mean that some men toiled with ploughs and hoes,
And while those worked for you, you toiled with glee
At other work for those!"

"Not so!" said I, getting a little hot,
Thinking the man a fool as well as funny,
"I'm not a working man, you idiot,
I bought it with my money!"

And still that creature stared and dropped his jaw,
Till I could have destroyed him where he sat;
"Money!" said I, "Money, and moneyed law!"
"Money!" said he,—"What's that?"

The Iniquitous Austrian Loan.

WHY DID MR. WALTON NEWBOLD SUPPORT IT?
DID HE OBEY SOVIET RUSSIA'S POLICY?
OR DID HE FOLLOW THE LABOUR PARTY?

"I give my general support to this matter of the loan to Austria."

So said Mr. Walton Newbold of the Right-Wing Communist Party (Third International) in announcing his policy to the House of Commons.

When Mr. Walton Newbold speaks or acts in the House of Commons, one remembers, firstly, that he is, for the present at least, amenable to the discipline of the Right-Wing Communist Party, which is controlled from Moscow; and secondly, that he is the victim of that Party's policy of attempting to secure affiliation to the Labour Party.

Therefore, in the matter of this Austrian loan, one asks: Is this the Moscow policy, or was Mr. Newbold following the cue of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in order to placate the Labour Party, which refuses to send him its whips?

Mr. Newbold could hardly have supported the Austrian loan project on principle, for in his speech announcing his support of the loan he said: "I regard the League of Nations with disgust and abhorrence." He proceeded to show the corrupt character of the loan, explaining that Sir Henry Strakosch, the chairman of the Financial Section of the League of Nations, which is to be the supreme power in turning the screw upon Austria, is also a director of the Anglo-Austrian Bank, which will benefit by the loan. Mr. Newbold further said:

> "There is an attempt being made on the Continent of Europe to take away the State monopoly on tobacco and put it in the hands of two tobacco companies—one British and the other American—if it is possible to distinguish the two. They desire to exploit Austria, France and Italy in the same manner as they are exploiting Turkey, Greece, and other countries."

Mr. Newbold certainly did not support the loan to Austria from sheer pity for the hardships and privations of the Austrian people, for the Government White Paper (surely Mr. Newbold has read the White Paper) containing the agreement and protocols respecting this loan, specifically states that the position of the Austrian people will be rendered harder during the period of "reform" which the lending Powers will enforce. Says the Financial Committee of the League of Nations:

> "The period of reform itself, even if the new credits are forthcoming, will necessarily be a very painful one. The longer it is deferred the more painful it must be. At the best the conditions of life in Austria must be worse next year, when she is painfully re-establishing her position, than last year, when she was devoting loans intended for that purpose to current consumption without reform.
>
> "The alternative is not between continuing the conditions of life of last year or improving them. It is between enduring a period of perhaps greater hardship than she has known since 1919 (but with the prospect of real amelioration—therefore the happier alternative), or collapsing into a chaos of destitution and starvation to which there is no modern analogy outside Russia.
>
> "There is no hope for Austria unless she is prepared to endure and support an authority which must enforce reforms entailing harder conditions than those at present prevailing, knowing that in this way only can she avoid an even worse fate."

For the people who are literally dying of hunger in Austria; for the children whose future physique is being destroyed, even should they survive actual death, the prospect that, some day, Austria's Capitalism may revive and become prosperous through this loan, offers no hope.

It is not for the starving poor of Austria that this loan is being made: it is to save Austrian Capitalism. Mr. Newbold knows this. In that same speech in the Commons he said:

> "Nothing worth mentioning has been done in this House to save the starving children of Vienna. But when it comes to a matter of saving the credit of the country, which has been aptly described as the nerve-centre of finance, immediately we find the League of Nations and this House all agog at a moment's notice."

In reading the White Paper Mr. Newbold will also have observed that one of the conditions of the loan is that Austria must establish "an efficient gendarmery." He will have noticed, too, that the Austrian representative was forced to give this pledge:

> **"The Austrian Government will take all measures to ensure the maintenance of public order."**

This Austrian loan has been devised with a two-fold object: firstly, to stave off the workers' revolution in Austria, by stabilising Capitalism therein with the aid of foreign control and foreign money; secondly, to retain Austria as the milch cow of the victorious Allied capitalists, especially the British, who by guaranteeing the major portion of the projected loan, secure the major share of control.

What interest has Walton Newbold, a Communist, even though a Right-Wing Communist, in furthering such a project?

Is it that by some curious process of Russian reasoning, it is imagined in Moscow that a loan for Austria furnishes a precedent for a loan to Soviet Russia? That idea seems almost too fantastic, even for the Third International "diplomatists." Even they should surely have learnt that Capitalist Governments do not trouble about such pretences of consistency—being consistent always in their attack on Communism.

Is it that this lapse in principle is merely due to a foolish desire to follow the Labour Party in the Division Lobbies in pursuit of the will-o'-the-wisp of the United Front.

Or is Mr. Newbold still under the spell of his one-time leader, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald?

For the refreshment of our readers' memories in considering this question, and for the profit of Mr. Newbold when he glances over our pages, we will recapitulate some

other points in the Austrian loan agreement and the documents appertaining to it.

Austria's economic and political independence is destroyed during the projected period of control, to which no definite term is set. Like the occupation of Egypt, it will tend to become as permanent as the Capitalist system:

> "The functions of the Commissioner-General shall be brought to an end by a decision of the League of Nations, when the Council shall have ascertained that the financial stability of Austria is assured, without prejudice to any special control of the assets assigned for the service of the loan."

The programme of reform dictated by the controlling authority and sanctioned by the League of Nations must be adopted by the Austrian Government, as a condition of the loan, and voted by the Austrian Parliament, which must accept the progremme, as an ultimatum, en bloc, and can have no further say in the matter. The vote of the Austrian Parliament, thus given under duress, will confer on the Government "full powers to take decisions of every kind in agreement with the controlling authority."

The controlling authority will see that the "Reform" programme is carried out. It will inspect the accounts of the Austrian Government departments. The controlling authority will consist of a committee of the guarantor Government and a Commissioner-General. The League of Nations will be the Court of Appeal.

Every item of Austrian public expenditure will be dictated. Already drastic reductions in pensions and social services are ordered, and it is ordered that the subventions to local authorities to assist them in paying their officials on the basis of the cost of living index are to cease.

The Austrian Government is made to surrender all right to issue paper money. It will not be permitted to negotiate or conclude loans, except under the consent of the Commissioner-General. It is ordered that the Austrian State Bank of Issue be handed over entirely to private enterprise, and is to be autonomous in its relations with the Austrian Government. Yet through this bank the Austrian Government must carry out all its cash transactions, and the bank must present its balance sheets to the Commissioner-General.

The gross receipts of Austria's Customs, tobacco monopoly, and, "if the Commissioner General should deem them necessary," other assets also, will be paid into a special account controlled by the Commissioner-General to assure the service of the annuity of the loan. All Austria's State industries may be ordered over to foreign enterprise.

One of the first things to be done with the loan, for which Austria is to surrender her independence, is to repay to the controlling Powers the loans they have already made.

As a result of these coercive measures, the usurious Powers hope "it may well prove that the guarantees eventually involve no actual cash liability upon the guarantors."

The subjection of Austria and the prevention of a Communist revolution there will thus have been very cheaply secured—if the Powers get their way. 'Tis a fiendish plan; but why did Mr. Walton Newbold support it? It seems that he can tell us all about the Capitalist companies, their directors and ramifications, but when it comes to a case of definite policy he follows the Labour Party, which falls in with the Capitalist Imperialist United Front.

Truly Mr. Newbold has demonstrated with perfect conclusiveness the folly of the United Front policy and the mistake it is for Communist Parties to send representatives to Parliament.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

ALL HAIL MUSSOLINI.

By Rebel Worker.

An outcry has been raised against Fascismo by the Communist Press (revolutionary or otherwise). Fascismo has been condoned by the Social Pacifist politicians. From the point of view of the rebel worker it is neither to be condoned nor condemned; it is the beginning of the last fight. It has thrown down the gauge of battle to the brave among the slaves. Fascismo destroys the great illusion of democracy. Long live Fascismo!

Democracy has been the greatest curse of the oppressed workers. It has produced the Ticksniffs of the class struggle. It has raised these parasites, who feed on hunger, into social prominence and economic security, by mouthing phrases and intriguing in Capitalist drawing-rooms and in Capitalist Parliaments. Democracy has enabled the parasites of mock revolution to seek the revolutionary energies of the working mass, and divert the bleached bodies into the road of constitutional agitation. It has enabled them to preach the fable of Christian pacifism. It has enabled them to preach the fable of class peace and class co-operation. And Mussolini has killed their fables.

Long live Mussolini! Mussolini has killed pacifism. He has done more for the revolution than all the Ukases of a thousand Lenins. His castor oil has purged the revolutionary organism of the rot of centuries of weak-kneed temporising with formulas. He has bared the sword of physical force and thrown it flaming into the arena. Let him who dares pick it up and use it. He has burnt the boats of those who play with revolution. Henceforth revolution is the game of those who dare to defend principle with life. Mussolini has kicked the adherents of revolutionary Communism out of the chatter houses of Parliament into the dark alley-ways of revolutionary struggle. He has ousted them from the flesh pots of compromise and forced them to choose the iron ration of the soldier in battle—that or submission. Henceforth they must fight not with words, but with their bodies bared to the bayonet point, and with the flare of the exploding bomb in their eyes, and the smell of powder in their nostrils. He has closed the exhaust pipes of snivelling protests—the ballot-box—and has allowed only one outlet for the revenge of oppression—war.

Long live Mussolini! He has brought the class war. Let it spread. Mussolini has cleared the decks. He has painted them white. Blood will make them red. Oppression breeds revolt.

THE GROWTH OF AUSTRALIAN IMPORTS AND MANUFACTURES.

Imports.

	£
1911	60,968,000
1915-16	77,745,000
1918-19	102,336,000
1919-20	98,974,000
1920-21	163,801,000

Manufacture.

1911	133,022,000
1915-16	172,575,000
1918-19	249,056,000
1919-20	292,536,000
1920-21	324,586,000

During the last three years an Australian Bureau of Commerce and Industry has been established, the policy of which is to stimulate Australian manufactures and overseas trade and to attract British manufacturers to set up factories in Australia. Amongst the British firms now manufacturing in Australia are Hadfield, Babcock and Wilcox, Chubb, Cadbury, Fry, Baldwin and Paton, and Kelsall and Kemp.

Some of these capitalists are Free Traders here, but "the Australian tariff on all goods not of Australian origin makes Australian industries secure."

Australian manufacturers aim at securing markets in New Zealand, India, China, Japan, the East Indies, the United States, Canada, South Africa, Egypt and the Mediterranean. In these markets Australian manufacture will compete with British and Europe manufacturers. Driven by the ambition secure foreign trade, Australian manuf turers will work to increase the Australi population by immigration, and to reduce t standard of working-class life to secu cheaper production

So grind the mills of Capitalist wa slavery.

The price of cattle in Argentina—one of t world's greatest meat districts—has fallen the lowest figure ever recorded. Prices expected to fall lower yet, and every da market shows an over-supply of steers. in the countries Argentina supplies with b people are hungry. Argentine growers a demanding that the Government shall fix price below which meat may not be so The result of that would be bigger profits the growers, but more hungry people. Un the price of meat fell, meat was a rare luxury for masses of workers in meat-producing Argentina.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE UNION.

Dear Editor,—Some time ago, while speaking on the subject of International Communism, a pamphlet was circulated in Liverpool under the heading "Who Bids for Communist Speakers?" issued by the Rev. H. D. Longbottom, organising secretary for the Liverpool District Economic Study Club.

I at once set out to prove to the worke that the British Empire Union was one many organisations which were open to b for Communist speakers.

My application of September 12th, 192 developed successfully into an offer made me by the British Empire Union on Septe ber 27th, 1922, an exact copy of whi follows:

Liverpool and District Division.
District Secretary, Mr. McGuirk Hughe
11a Queen's Assurance Building,
Dale Street, Liverpool.
September 27th, 1922.

D. Protheroe, Esq., 63 Wrayburn Stree Liverpool.

Dear Sir,—With further reference to yo letter of the 12th inst., stating, in view your position taken up at the meeting Se tember 4th, and with your new intentions proclaiming moderate policies of co-oper tion, making an application for post official speaker in the British Empi Union. I am pleased to offer you an a pointment in the British Empire Union, speaker on a permanent staff, at a week salary of £4 15s., together with a bonus one shilling and ninepence per meeting.

In view of the fact that our meetin average nine a week at present, this wou bring your weekly earnings approximate to £5 10s. 9d. The conditions for the a pointment are as follows: That you put fo ward the policy of the British Empire Unio when speaking, and at all times that yo hold yourself for all instructions issued b myself or any other officer appointed b myself.

That you will be prepared to journey (a reasonable notice) to any destination yo are requested to do, the British Empir Union paying all travelling expenses. Tha this agreement be terminated by tw (2) months' notice on either side.

I might say, as far as can be seen at th present moment our campaign will b carried on for a considerable period, an therefore subject to your meeting of condi tions of this agreement you will naturall remain with us.

If you desire to accept these conditions I shall be glad if you will call at this offic on Friday morning, at ten-thirty a.m (10.30 a.m.).

Yours truly, J. McGuirk Hughes, Secretary.

As a result of my exposure, their loca speaker, a Mr. J. W. Cherry, has lost prestig failing to appear at several street corners.

DAVID PROTHEROE.

Next week we shall publish some more facts about the British Empire Union.

East Meets West.

East meets West amongst the "Dreadnought" readers: our paper goes to far-off China and Japan, and away to the extreme West of America. We have subscribers who send us appreciative letters in every continent. Sailor comrades take the paper around the world, seeking new readers; stay-at-home comrades put the "Workers' Dreadnought" into the letter-boxes in their own street.

Our circulation is growing.

It was a bold step to make the "Dreadnought" a penny again. Papers with a wealthier and larger public to support them have hesitated to take that step.

To justify it from the financial aspect, we should at once have doubled, and more than doubled, the circulation. As it was, the circulation mounted immediately, and it is still creeping upward; but we have not doubled the circulation yet. We are doing a wider propaganda, but the financial strain isgreater than when our price was twopence.

Now we ask you, all of you, to help us in bearing the burden, till it ceases to be a burden, till the day comes when we can announce that the "Workers' Dreadnought" is *self*-supporting, that its financial basis is sound, and that it can afford to enlarge and extend.

You like the "Workers' Dreadnought"; you think it a useful paper: bring it, then, to the notice of others. Devote one evening a week to this purpose, or at least some part of an evening.

Give the 'Dreadnought" the opportunity of introducing someone to Communism through you every week.

Help to introduce the "Dreadnought" to the readers of another paper by inserting an advertisement of the "Dreadnought" in some other paper you take, once a week, or as often as you can.

A yearly, half-yearly, or quarterly subscription to the 'Workers' Dreadnought" makes an appropriate Christmas or New Year's gift for friends, whether at home or abroad.

Let us hear from you!

ZANGWILL'S ANTI-BOLSHEVIK PLAY.

Mr. Zangwill's "Forcing House" (Heineman, 7/6) is a defence of the Capitalist system, and a bitter attack on the idea of popular revolution. In fact, revolution is portrayed as a "forcing house," out of which no good can come; but only greed, corruption, and violence and the lust for power. The policies and practices of the leaders of the Russian Soviet Government are specially caricatured and attacked throughout the play; and, indeed, this is done with so much spleen that readers will be apt to charge Mr. Zangwill with personal animus, or with having placed a reckless credence in the often exploded yarns of the "Morning Post."

Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that such books as that on her Russian adventures, by Mrs. Sheridan, the sculptor cousin of Winston Churchill, who, according to her own account, was made much of by Soviet officials in London and Russia, certain methods of the Soviet bureaucracy, and, above all, the New Economic Policy of the Soviet Government, have added a substance to Mr. Zangwill's indictment. His shafts would have been keener, however, and his play more intelligent had he gone more frequently to original sources of information. The superficial character of his study, both of the Russian Revolution and of revolutionary doctrine and literature in general, is revealed in many ways beside his repeated use of the phrase "dictation of the proletariat" for "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Apparently Mr. Zangwill is not merely opposed to revolution, but to Socialism itself. His dethroned queen says: "Economic equality is not the light of the world nor even its sure happiness." Apparently this is Mr. Zangwill's view.

As a literary production the play does not reach a high level. Mr. Zangwill has often given amusement as a jester, but there is no jesting that can amuse in this play. He dedicates the book to Maurice Maeterlinck, and refers, in the final passages of his preface, to Bernard Shaw; thus challenging comparison with those two notable playwrights. No, no, Mr. Zangwill; posterity will not rank you beside those dramatists unless you can rise very far above the level of "The Forcing House."

The play leaves one quite unmoved; one can feel no spark of sympathy for its characters.

It is curious, by the way, that Mr. Zangwill, a Jew, in this play puts the religious faith of his Christians above that of the Jews. The fact appears to be too much insisted upon to be accidental. Mr. Zangwill's "good" people are very tedious persons, but he seems to believe in them

A STRANGE AND HORRIBLE INCIDENT.

Homer Green, I.W.W., on his way to California, was run over by a freight train. His head was severed from his body. The Sacramento "Star" reports that Capt. Max Fisher, of the Sacramento police, and Deputy-Coroner Hall stuck the dead man's head on a spike, painted and powdered the face, and then photographed it in order to place the picture in their "rogues' gallery."

MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

Daŭriga.

La kapitalistaro, per la rapida plibonigo de ĉiuj iloj de produktado, per la grandege facili-gitaj runedoj de komunikado, entiras ĉiujn, eĉ la plej barbarajn naciojn, en civilizacion. La malaltaj prezoj de siaj komercaĵoj estas la multepeza artilerio per kiu ĝi disbategas ĉiujn ĥinajn murojn, per kiu ĝi igas kapitulacii la treege obstinan malamon de la barbaroj al fremduloj. Gi devigas ĉiujn naciojn, je puno per ekstermo, alpreno la kapitalistan metodon de produktado; ĝi devigas ilin enkonduki en sian mezon tion kion ĝi nomas civilizacio, t.e. fariĝi mem kapitalisma. Unuvorte, ĝi kreas mondon laŭ sia propra figuro.

Daŭrigota.

Dear Editor,—I wish to enlist your sympathy in a case which I think will interest you.

I am a Health Visitor at Edmonton, a very poor district in a northern suburb. The majority of the men are unskilled labourers, of whom a very large number are out of work. The poverty and distress, the overcrowding, and the low standard of living are beyond description. In the course of my visiting, the mothers frequently told me how much they dreaded the advent of another baby, and asked me if I could help them, so I gave them the address of Dr. Marie Stopes's Birth Control Clinic. A great many have been there, and are very grateful for the information given.

After a time the Medical Officer of Health heard of this, and forbade me to teach birth control (which I had not done). As I did not wish to get into trouble, I ceased to give the address; but so many people asked me for help that at last I could no longer refrain from telling them. Later on the Medical Officer asked me to promise to abstain from "all mention of contraceptives" or to send in my resignation. As my conscience would not allow me to do this, and as I could not think that a body of people who knew the conditions of the district could possibly object to what I was doing, at his suggestion I appealed to the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee.

A meeting was called, to which I was summoned; but I was not allowed in the room. When the meeting was nearly over I was called in, but was not allowed to speak except to answer questions. These questions were mainly to procure from me an admission of my technical fault, and the outcome of the meeting was that I am suspended until the next Council meeting on December 19th, when I expect to be dismissed.

I cannot feel that I have done wrongly in trying to help these poor women who are suffering because they have not the knowledge possessed by their better-educated sisters.

I venture to beg for your help in giving publicity to the case. It seems almost incredible in these enlightened days that a public body should take such a reactionary step.

I have made a great sacrifice in taking this step, as I am entirely dependent on myself for a living; but if by so doing I can win for these poor women access to the knowledge they need and desire, I shall be satisfied. As an obscure person like myself cannot do much, I make this appeal to you to use your name and influence on behalf of people who are voiceless and leaderless.

Trusting that you will give this matter your earnest consideration,

Yours, etc.,

E. S. DANIELS.

4 Park Avenue,
Palmer's Green, N. 13.
December 14th, 1922.

Mr. Philip Snowden and Lord Grey of Falloden, talking together about Peace in Queen's Hall—well, well.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

Works for Communism.—A classless order of society in which there shall be no rich and poor, no masters or servants, no landlords and capitalists, no buying and selling, no money, no wages. Each shall use according to need and desires of the earth's fruits and the product of the common labour. Each shall give to the service of the community according to capacity. Production and distribution shall be organised by those who do the work through the Soviets.

Tactics.—No compromise with non-Communists and Reformers. No affiliation with the Labour Party. Continuous teaching of Communism. Continuous struggle for Communism.

Preparation for the Soviets: that is to say, organisation of the workers to take over and administer the industries of the creation of One Big Revolutionary Union with industrial departments built up from the workshop basis on the Sovet model. Continuous teaching of the futility of Parliamentary action.

OUR BURNE JONES CALENDAR.

Our Burne Jones calendar, "When Adam delved and Eva span, who was then the gentleman?" has proved exceedingly popular. A few copies left, ninepence each.

THE COMMUNIST LIFE

For mutual service. Secretary, Miss Hodson, 86 St. Peter's Hill, Grantham.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

Workers' Dreadnought

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Our View.

What is Needed.

WHAT is needed in this country to-day is an organisation composed solely of persons who have banded themselves together with one object—the overthrow of the Capitalist system, and the substitution of Communism.

What is Communism?

Communism is a classless order of society, in which the land the means of production, distribution, transport, and communication are held in common. It is a social order in which, since mankind is now able to produce more of the means of life than it can actually consume, the community sets itself to provide all that the people can use, the social product being supplied freely to all according to their needs and desires, without money, buying and selling, wages, or direct reward for services rendered. The useless toil connected with banking, advertising, and all the ramifications of buying and selling, from street hawking to company promoting, disappears.

" We are all Socialists to-day " is an old saying; but only a tiny handful of people are to-day willing to work for Socialism itself. That is why the cause makes slow headway.

Shortly before 1916, a not large group of persons combined for the direct purpose of overthrowing British rule in Ireland. Their effort has carried Ireland as far as the Free State, and she will certainly go further yet.

The same success will attend the whole-hearted band which sets forth to overthrow Capitalist domination in this and other countries provided it avoid all the by-paths of Reformism and the United Front, which may arise to deflect it from the straight course.

* * *

Is the I.W.W. a Revolutionary Organisation?

THE I.W.W. has often been called a revolutionary organisation; its famous preamble, the fighting calibre of its members, and the fierce attacks made by Capitalism upon it, have all been cited as evidences of its revolutionary intent.

Now, through the Defence News Service, comes the information that the general convention of the I.W.W. has decided to put up a fight for the six-hour working day. In this demand, as in many other respects, the I.W.W. is thus in advance of the Red International of Labour Unions, which, in this country at least, is only opposing an increase in the working hours, and is making no move towards a decrease. What, however, does the I.W.W. say of its six-hour day proposition?

> " It is one thing, of course, to advocate any given reform, and another thing to have it put into effect. But the delegates to the I.W.W. convention make it plain that they have no illusions about the swiftness with which the six-hour day can be made a fact. They know the fulfilment of this plan will require a long period of educational effort. Once, however, they have made a large proportion of the workers understand the logic and justice of the six-hour idea, the trick will be turned. It won't be necessary to educate the employers. They will be no more than a day behind the working masses in learning the lesson.
>
> " To this end, the I.W.W. convention has dealt at length with the subject of spreading practical knowledge. For some time the organisation has maintained an educational bureau on a limited scale at its headquarters here. It is planned to enlarge this bureau, and to have it work in close co-operation with the Work People's College at Duluth, Minnesota."

" A long period of education " and an extensive propaganda organisation which the News Service describes; all concentrated on the mere purpose of educating the workers to the need of a six-hour day! What a pity that such great efforts should not be devoted to education in the need for destroying the system!

Suppose you win the six-hour day, fellow-workers of the I.W.W.? If you leave the Capitalists in possession of the land and the industries, they will force your wages down or your cost of living up till you are glad to work overtime; and when the next wave of trade depression comes, and the unemployed are standing at the gate, the employers will easily take away again your hard-won six-hour day. Moreover, fellow-workers of the I.W.W., you will not win a six-hour day during the present trade depression unless you put up so great a fight that you are able to bring the forces of Capitalism to their knees. When you can do that, fellow-workers, you surely will be anxious to do more than merely shorten the working day.

It behoves you, fellow-workers of the I.W.W. and of all other organisations, to be practical in your propaganda and to remember that your fellow wage-slaves are not unthinking children, but have been tried in the hard school of life. Also, you must remember that they give ear to the specious arguments of the Capitalist Press.

The United States worker, and the British worker, who demands a six-hour working day, is met with this reply from the Capitalist: " **The exchange value of British** money is high, that of United States money is higher; how are the commodities produced in the United States and Britain to find markets in Europe, if the United States workers and British workers increase the cost of production by insisting upon a much shorter working day than that which obtains in other countries? "

It is not only the Capitalist who will argue thus; the Labour Leaders, Mr. Gompers in America, Mr. Henderson in Britain, will employ the same arguments. The revolutionary will reply:

" Never mind; if the employers are ruined, we shall thereby smash the system."

The worker who is not a revolutionary will say: " Gompers and Henderson are right; for our own sakes, and to keep our jobs, we must be reasonable."

When trade is bad, the worker can only be induced to take action which will make trade worse if he is persuaded that the only hope is to smash the system. Therefore, comrades, on with your Socialist propaganda; make the people realise that we must leave this bad old life of Capitalism behind and open the door of the future to a life entirely new.

* * *

Lenin and Trotsky on Their New Economic Policy.

LENIN puts a bold face on the New Economic Policy of reversion to Capitalism, and would have us take his word that all is for the best and that Soviet Russia has reason to be proud of its progress just because it is not so very far behind some of the poorer Capitalist countries in its efforts to stabilise its currency.

Trotsky, on the other hand, admits that private Capitalism in Russia is an evil and a menace. He says:

> " What threatens us, is the development of private Capitalism to which free play has been given. This real Capitalism will compete with our State economic system, and with our State manufactures."

He admits the evil and the menace, but he says the workers' State will prune private Capitalism by taxation. Moreover, the workers' State, he declares, is still in power. He admits that such power as the Soviet have may be lost, but he urges that the world proletarian revolution will come before this happens:

> " In one word—the danger that re Capitalism, whose development is inevitable in a free market is conceded, will grow to be strong for the workers' State is much less imminent than the possibility that the working class in Central and Western Europe will conquer the power of the State."

The new economic policy is purely a gamble with chances, as Trotsky explains it.

He further declares that, apart from the land, which is privately worked by the peasants, 70 per cent. of the industries are State controlled, 30 per cent. controlled by private capitalists. Trotsky makes this important admission:

> " Private Capitalism groups itself around our State trusts, competes with, and yet is nourished by them. Conversely our State enterprises would not be able to continue to work in default of the supplies with which they are furnished by certain comparatively small private enterprises."

Why is that? Why have important key industries been handed over to private enterprise? Is it seriously asserted that our private enterprise is capable of running the industries?

The New Economic Policy has, indeed, been imposed without real explanation. It has been imposed by means of an appeal to confidence in those who are alleged to have made no mistakes, although Lenin, to do him justice, perpetually insists that these proposals have made many. The excuse for bringing the private capitalist back to Russia is that the incentive to private gain may secure increased production. But how little production has increased!

Both Lenin and Trotsky assert that the Soviet Government must learn to manage industry as the capitalists manage it. The whole work of Communism: the development of workers' management, and of brotherly service for the common good instead of for narrow personal gain, the elimination of the less toil involved in the buying and selling system: all these are relegated by the Third International leaders to some future beyond our ken.

We must look elsewhere for the influence that will carry the evolution of Communist ideology a stage further.

* * *

The Miners' Retreat to Parliamentarism.

THE Conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain in deciding to leave its members to continue suffering until after Parliament meets in February showed how the miners have retreated since the fatal day when their leaders accepted the Sankey inquiry, instead of keeping their word to call a general strike to enforce the nationalisation of the mines. Since less than nothing can be of that inquiry, it is a sign of exceeding great depression and weakness that the miners should now be asking for another Government inquiry, and should be postponing action in the hope that Mr. Bonar Law may perhaps see fit to call for an inquiry, should the miners' position show no signs of improvement when Parliament meets.

The miners, who, by resolute action and long struggles, had raised themselves, from being one of the most degraded and exploited classes of workers, to a foremost position in the British proletarian movement, have now slipped into the rear economically, and, for the time at least, seem almost wholly bereft of their old fighting spirit.

Nevertheless, the awakened minority still exists in the mining areas. If that minority will but regard its responsibilities, and its mission as all-important; if it will but forsake the impossible will-o'-the-wisp of a United

Front based on conflicting ideals and objects; if it will but decide to go out and do the spade work of creating a new movement, a movement built for the purpose of destroying the Capitalist system; then that awakened minority will presently find itself able to advance the movement as it has never been able heretofore. It will discover that when it has sufficient confidence in its cause to work for it directly, and not behind a smoke-screen of reformsim and reformists, masses of workers who to-day are groping bewildered for a lead will, in time, confidently join the new movement of hope and action, which the courage and confidence of a few pioneers will have created. That will come later; in the meantime, the new movement will know its strength and weakness, and will not rely on the empty cheers and threats and the bubble resolutions passed by block votes of unheeding thousands, which diverted and satisfied the old movement.

"Much cry and little wool" will be the present result of leaving the miners' case in the hands of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

The Government inquiry is likely to be held, however, because the mine-owners are working for the repeal of the seven-hour day legislation. The mine-owners in the Rhos area of North Wales have already announced that they will close down their pits unless the miners agree to work eight-hour shifts or accept a 10 per cent. reduction in wages:

* * *

What the Hunger Marchers May Accomplish.

THE UNEMPLOYED MARCHERS have begun a propaganda, which, if they maintain it, will have large and far-reaching effects in linking the sympathies of the workers of town and country, from North to South, from East to West. It will create a bond of solidarity which will overstep the boundaries of trade, industry, and locality.

When the marchers discard the propaganda of palliatives and make their slogans plenty for all, the Communist fraternity, and the overthrow of Capitalism and wagedom, the value of their marching propaganda will be enormously enhanced. Indeed, every phase of the movement which discards reformism and adopts Communism as its direct objective, experiences a new birth.

* * *

The Buckingham Palace Fiasco.

THE attempt of the unemployed to send a deputation to see King George, as might have been expected, was a fiasco. Such tactics are not good: it is not for Socialists and the proletariat to bolster up the power of the Monarchy by appealing to it. Mr. George Lansbury said that the King should receive the petition and hand it on to his Ministers. No good Republican can approve that contention. We presume Mr. Lansbury would claim to be a Republican.

The Buckingham Palace deputation stunt is, by the way, another revival of old Suffragette tactics; but this particular stunt was always, in our view, the least intelligent one ever adopted by the militant women. It was only employed once. Nevertheless, the Suffragettes certainly played the game gallantly and with spirit. They struggled for many hours, arousing public sympathy and a good deal of admiration, by getting themselves bruised and torn in their efforts to reach the Palace, in spite of large police reinforcements. They counted every arrest a victory, and every arrested woman congratulated herself on having performed a duty and escaped the dishonouring ignominy of retreat.

The unemployed attempted deputation to the King was but a tame affair. Really, comrades, it is no worse to be in prison than in the workhouse, especially now that you are to be treated as ordinary inmates. Many of the poor down-and-outs actually prefer gaol to the workhouse.

Suffragette tactics may keep the pot of public interest boiling for a time; but the unemployed who are requiring, not a mere political reform, but a fundamental economic change, must look more deeply into the question of tactics and methods. They must devise measures which will not merely appeal to sensationalism and give opportunities for the display of daring, but will make for the common ownership of the land and the means of production, distribution, and transport.

The organised unemployed have been given a certificate of respectability by the decision of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress to hold a demonstration jointly with the National Unemployed Workers' Committee and to invite the unemployed organisations to be represented at a national conference. It is but a short time since the Labour Party spokesmen were opposing the unemployed organisation and its demands with as much bitterness as any of the Capitalist parties. There is now some talk of getting the unemployed into "organised relationship with the Trade Union Congress." The unemployed need expect no more real help from the Labour leaders than the Police and Prison Officers' Union got when it attempted to maintain its existence after the Government declared war upon it.

* * *

Zinoviev and Communist Tactics.

ZINOVIEV, in his report of the Executive Committee of the Third International to the Fourth Congress of that body, attempted to explain the United Front which his executive desires to secure between Reformists and Communists. He said:

> "The inquiry has shown that much confusion still prevails among the comrades as to the precise meaning of the United Front. I have already explained that it does not mean an electoral allience. Nor does it mean an organisatory union with the Social Democrats. . . . An organisatory union with the Social Democrats would be the greatest crime we could commit. Every one of us would rather have a hand cut off than enter into a union with those traitors to the working class . . . who are the last prop of the bourgeoisie. The United Front means nothing of that sort. It means the leading of the working masses in the daily class war. . . ."

Come, come, Comrade Zinoviev; you are evidently forgetting the British situation. Is not the supporting of Labour candidates by a Communist Party, and the withdrawal of its own candidates and the slipping in of Communist candidates under the Labour ticket an electoral alliance—even though a one-sided one? Is not affiliation to the Labour Party and acceptance of its constitution an organisationary union—to say nothing of instructions to Communist Party members to join the Labour Party as individuals and even to become members of the I.L.P.?

Zinoviev and his executive are aware that their boasted tactics have not had satisfactory results in this country. Zinoviev declared that the Communist movement here is "practically stagnant," and that this is "remarkable" in view of the great unemployment. "We do not as yet know the causes of this slow development," he added.

In reply to this, it should be observed that prior to the war the proletarian movement in Britain was more backward in respect of Socialist ideology than the movements of Continental countries. During the war the British suffered less than the peoples of other belligerent nations (except America, which entered the war late), and, economically, less even than some of the neutrals. These large considerations must be taken into account. At the same time, the mistaken tactics of the Third International have been greatly responsible, in confusing, misleading, and saturating with doubt and disillusion the Communist movement which was arising in this country. A body of thinkers had out-grown the Labour Party, Parliamentarianism, and Trade Unionism. The Third International ordered those thinkers back, in the name of loyalty, to the Russian Revolution, and supported its order by financial subsidies for obedience.

The Workshop Council Movement.

THE German Communist Party was deliberately split by the Third International on two issues:

(1) Participation in Parliamentary elections;

( ) Workshop councils v. the old Trade Unions.

The Third International demanded Parliamentary participation and work within the old Trade Unions from all its affiliated bodies. The Left Wing of the German Communist Party opposed Parliamentarism and supported the revolutionary workshop movement, which had already done good service to the proletarian cause in Germany. The Left Wing was therefore expelled, and thereafter formed the Communist Workers' Party of Germany; and, since the policy was international, initiated the Fourth International, which holds that the Soviets must be formed in the workshop, in order to overthrow Capitalism—not merely after it is overthrown.

The Third International has opposed step by step the growth of the All-Workers' Union of Revolutionary Workshop Committees, whilst it has continued, but with little success, to woo the old Trade Unions.

Though at its birth the Third International welcomed the British shop stewards and the American Wobblies, it came to soon regard them with disfavour. Recently the British section of the Red International stated that it only deals with official Unions, and not with unofficial industrial bodies.

But now once more comes a change: the Third International begins again to laud the shop-stewards' movement. It hails the shop stewards of Germany, and reproaches the British shop stewards for having gone to sleep. Is this an admission of error or an attempt to snatch from the Fourth International the results of its steady and faithful toil?

Even yet, Zinoviev entirely fails to grasp the significance of the workshop movement and the essential requirements of an industrial organisation which is to prepare the way for Communism. He does not appear to realise that the Unions, with their craft rivalries and distinctions, and bureaucratic organisations, are structurally unfitted to manage industry. Apparently the workshop movement means to him, not the Sovietisation of industries, but a mere appendage of the Trade Union movement.

In discussing the friction of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals, Zinoviev says that this Union means the preparation of the White Terror against the Communists. He declares that the object of the Second Internationalists is to destroy the Trade Unions, so that when the Communists gain power in the Unions they shall find nothing but fragments. The Communists, on the other hand, must work, he says, for the United Front, in order to preserve the Unions.

All this is so much nonsense. When the working class is enlightened enough to desire Communism, it will know how to organise for itself a much better structure than that of the old Trade Unions, which the reactionary leaders themselves would like to reform and amalgamate, but for their own vested interest in the present official positions.

Dwelling on the fact that masses of Communists in Germany and Czecho-Slovakia have been turned out of the Unions and forced to form new Unions for mutual protection, Zinoviev says:

> "When the Czech, German, and other Communists are compelled to establish a general, or even a craft Union, they must issue the watchword: Unity! Struggle for the unity of the Trade Union Movement."

How can it be that any enlightened Communist should turn back to establish so out-of-date a machine as a craft Union? How much more intelligent is the policy of building up from amongst the expelled masses and others who will join them, the All-Workers' Union of revolutionary workers' committees, fitted both for the final struggle with Capitalism, and for the management of industry under Communism?

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

THE HUNGER MARCHERS.

By Tom Anderson.

The hunger marchers, as you all know, are the unemployed, and they are marching from all parts of the country up to London, the big City of death, and much of that is beautiful. Nearly all the parasites of our land live in London—at least all the big ones do. Parasites, parasites everywhere you go; and they are all happy and contented. They are getting a good living; they are the good ones; they are the respectable ones; they are the wealthy ones. Our Labour M.P.s whom we sent from Glasgow cannot live on £8 per week in London; they have entered the lists of the parasites too. And there are millions living in London where the entire family income does not exceed half that amount.

The hunger marchers left our city weeks ago, brave lads; they are also marching from Greenock, Edinburgh, and Dundee. Only a hunger marcher, only one of the "down-and-outs," poorly clad in appearance, dejected looking, in mentality equalling the rest of his being. Nobody cares, and the parasites laugh at them on the march, and the Press of the parasites sheer and jeer at them, and tell lies about them.

They have gone to see the Premier, the head of the Government, and the Premier will not meet them; but that does not matter, it is giving them a rallying objective, and men must have something. From this will come something stronger and better. All movements at the first are weak and purile, so also to-day with the hunger marchers; but what of the morrow?

Don't think because the hunger marcher is "down and out" that he has no intelligence, or that he will not fight, for in this you may make a mistake.

It will surprise the great Labour movement of our country some day, and that before long, when the battle starts in earnest, when all the polish has been taken away and the stark naked truths of life become so apparent to the smallest mind, one thing will stand out clear and transparent—**bread.** We must have bread. Then the fight will take on its class outlook; and there are to-day among the hunger marchers hundreds of men who understand.

Capitalist society to-day cannot give them bread; it can only keep the parasites and their hangers-on. There is no hope of bread from that quarter—not for all, at any rate. And all must get bread. The hunger marchers must form an army, and they might call it the Bread Brigade, and the marching must never stop, and their army must keep ever on the move. And as they keep at it they will grow, and every soldier in the army must be a real soldier. He must take the oath, Bread for All; and until that comes there can be no peace. Their army must organise and teach and fight, and carry their crusade into every home in the country, and slowly but surely they will grow.

I have written a song for the army, "The Hunger Marchers' Song." Every man and woman must learn it and sing it. This is only a start, but start we must. Let us go marching and singing our song, and when the day has come we shall be ready.

THE ART OF CREATION.

Feeling (or desire lies beneath. Thought is the form which it takes as it comes into the outer world. . . . Whatever feeling it is, the result is the same. We harbour within us the desire to injure anyone, or the desire to benefit anyone. The desire cannot remain at that stage. It must either perish away, or else if it is hardened it will grow. It will grow into definite thoughts and plans of benefit or of injury. And these thoughts and plans will grow into actions. True the actions may not be seen immediately: the thoughts and plans may work unseen for a long time. Still, there they are, working; there they are making ready channels for action. And this it is, I suppose, which explains the fact that we all of us at times act so much more heroically than either of our neighbours, or even ourselves, expect; and also, I am afraid, that at times we act so much more meanly. All the time, in silence, thought has been busy within, making ready the channels; and so one day when a great rush of feeling comes it flows down, and in an instant, as it were, before we have time to say Yea or Nay, has flung itself forth into our actions, and taken form and standing in the visible world.

And not only is this true of violent feeling, that it finds expression in the visible world; but even of very quiet feeling the same, if it is also persistent. If so small a creature as man presses with his hand against the side of a great ship floating in dock, it seems that no result is produced; yet we know that if he should continue persistently so to press, in time a measurable effect would ensue. And so it is with those smaller calmer currents of desire and feeling within us. If they are always there, always flowing, they will inevitably show themselves in time. Gradually, insensibly, they modify our thoughts, our actions, our habits of action, the movements of our muscles and limbs, the expressions of our faces, the forms of our bodies.

Yes, even the forms of our bodies, the forms and outlines of our faces, our expressions and manners, and the tones of our voices—all the things that go to make up our appearance in the world—are, I will not say entirely the result (since heredity and other things have to be considered), but plainly to a very great extent the result and expression of those dim feelings and emotions, which, welling up in the hidden caverns of the mind, gradually press forward and outward into the light of day.

Edward Carpenter—may be obtained from "Dreadnought" Bookshop, price 6/-; second-hand copy, 3/6.

SEAMEN IN THE FAR EAST.

It will be remembered that the Seamen's Union in Hongkong and Canton declared a strike, the result of which was that the men won big things from the employers. It is ascertained now that about two months after the big strike was won the seamen, stevedors, and other workers employed on and about the ships and docks, declared another strike, affecting about 400 steam launches and about 100 motor boats. The number of men affected by this latter strike was about 6,000.

The warship "Durham," which was allocated by the British Government to act as escort to the "Renown," on which the eldest son of George Rex was travelling round the world, was in Hongkong at the time this strike took place. The sailors and stokers from the "Durham" were compelled by the British Government to become scabs and man the steam launches and motor boats on which the Chinese seamen had struck.

His Majesty's warship "Foxglove" was also in Hongkong at that time, and the seamen on that ship were forced to scab on the Chinese seamen. Our Hongkong correspondent mentions in his report the fact that the seamen on the British warships are not referred to as seamen or stokers at all; they are simply put down in the Regulations as "ratings," and he pointed out that all the "ratings" on the "Foxglove" and "Durham" were forced to become "scabs" and fight against their fellow wage-slaves in China. Confirmation of all this has come to hand in the newspapers from China and Japan.

But the day is coming when Capitalist Governments will no longer be able to recruit scabs from the ranks of their armies and navies, because the men in those organisations will develop as much consciousness of the class position as some of the seamen in the navy of France, when they refused to be parties to the attack on the Russian workers in the Black Sea.

—From the "Australian Seaman."

LINES FROM JOHN BARLAS
(Omitted in error from a previous issue).

Freedom, her arm outstretched but lips firm set,
Freedom, her eyes with tears of pity wet,
But her robe spiashed with drops of bloody dew,
Freedom, thy goddess, is our goddess yet,
Young Barbaroux.

Freedom, that tore the robe from kings away,
That clothed the beggar child in warm array,
Freedom, the hand that raised, the hand that slew,
Freedom, divine then, is divine to-day,
Young Barbaroux.

We drown, we perish in a swaying sea;
We are not equal, brotherly, nor free;
Who from this death shall stoop and raise us?
Who?
Thy Freedom, and the memory of such as thee,
Young Barbaroux.

Published under the pseudonym Evelyn Douglas in 1884.

FROM THE GERMAN ALL-WORKERS' UNION.

Comrades, we are glad to notice that you have reduced the price of the "Workers' Dreadnought." We, on the contrary, have been obliged to increase the price and reduce the size of our paper "Kampfruf." An English £ is now 40,000 marks, and £2 10s. would pay for an edition of "Kampfruf." Perhaps some of the British comrades would be willing to give or collect that amount to assist us.

The Communist Workers' Party of Holland recently collected money to help the German Communist Workers' Party and the International paper "Proletarier."

Prices for many things in Germany have already reached the world market price, and have even exceeded it. Therefore, production and sale of German manufactures must come to a standstill; already unemployment is daily increasing.

In the near future popular revolts may occur owing to the miserable condition of the workers. Our duties as Communists are therefore enormous just now. Yet at this time, when the fullest preparedness is necessary, we are seriously handicapped financially.

The All-Workers' Union of Revolutionary Workshop Committees is making progress in the industrial districts. Mid-Germany and Thuringia lead the way, but our ideas and organisation are spreading fast also in the Rhineland and Westphalia, especially in the Rhur district.

Everywhere opposition to the Trade Unions is growing amongst the workers, but the Parliamentary Communists who desire to gain the leadership of the old Trade Unions are everywhere working against this workshop movement which is building the Soviets in the workshops. These Parliamentary Communists must cease this evil work.

We hope that the brother proletariat of Britain may soon be a factor aiding us in the struggle to overthrow Capitalism, for we know that the emancipation of the workers cannot be complete till it is international.

DESIRABLE MANSIONS,
By Edward Carpenter.
Price 4d.

This forms part of a larger work entitled "England's Ideal," published by George Allen and Unwin, price 2/6 limp, and 3/6 cloth. This work may also be obtained at the "Dreadnought" Bookshop.

ON THE RAND.

VIEWS ON THE MARTIAL LAW ENQUIRY COMMISSION.

I.

The Report of the Martial Law Enquiry Commission on the strike is now out, and is receiving the unanimous approval of the Capitalist Press, which is the mouthpiece of the Chamber of Mines and High Finance.

The Report is amazingly one-sided, an absolute disgrace and scandal; in fact, it has already been referred to as a Smuts' Political Pamphlet.

Nevertheless, from the Commission's own statements, it is possible to shake the basis on which they have skilfully based their findings. It is also possible to establish by the circumstantial evidence they have adduced, quite opposite conclusions.

A part of the Report seems to have been written by Major Trigger, rather than by "learned" Judges. Unpalatable evidence is shamelessly brushed aside, and even the most foul acts of the Government forces are deemed to have been necessary "in the circumstances."

The Report does not mention the burning of the Benoni Workers' Hall by the Government forces, or the statement made by Senator Fraser in the Senate against the conduct of the Durham Light Infantry, or the alleged use of dum-dum bullets during the 1914 strike and the recent 1922 strike, and the order to take no prisoners.

There is no word of regret for the maltreatment of the striker prisoners by the guardians of law and order, in the person of detectives, with a "goodwill" quite different from the goodwill preached to the workers. A strike prisoner was treated as guilty until he proved himself to be innocent.

The cells were crowded, one cell containing as many as 34 prisoners; it was small, devoid of ventilation, and the strikers were informed that it was previously used as a native urinal.

The prisoners' food consisted of cold meal pap three times a day, with two mugs of black and sugarless tea, which had to be given to them to revive them. With the comradeship which is a great characteristic of prison inmates, the two mugs were shared round.

The Report contains not a word about General Smuts' statement that "he was becoming expert" in suppressing revolution. The Report would have it appear that the people were very bad and the Government very good all the time.

The death sentences are being carried out, not so much to satisfy justice, but as reprisals against the working classes. The Prime Minister and his followers had made themselves the agents and the executive officers of the policy of the Chamber of Mines.

ISAAC VERMONT

II.

To anyone who seeks the truth about the Rand revolt, it is evident that the Commission Report of Pretoria, with its summarisings, s manufactured by a clique of low-grade absolutists, supported with full knowledge of Capitalist law, by a judicial Bench of bare-aced pillars of Mammon-Justice, and by provocation and prostitutional evidence of bought 'humanitarians" and all sorts of strike unters and spies.

In order to gain public approval for this eport with its findings, the Commission ttributes the chief causes of the revolu-ionary movement in which the strike ter-inated to the militarising of the commandos, he political complexion of which was pre-onderately nationalist, and the encouragement received from the augmented executive and certain Labour leaders to commit breaches of the law.

There is not a word about the economic pressure of the mine magnates of the Rand according to the pre-arranged instructions of Sir Lionel Phillips.

The hypocritical report gives the impression that the chief cause of the Rand revolt was the formation of commandos alone. The fight for bread, the struggle for mere existence, the misery and starvation on the Rand, all is treated as imagination only.

The belief that armed support would come from the backveld, the desire of Nationalisists to obtain a Republic, an intrigue of South African Communist Party, etc., are next alleged.

It is amazing that a Government even of a backward country, in a backward corner of the world, should make itself ridiculous by publishing such a collection of absurdities and calling them an historical document.

The Rand workers, so long as they remain labourers and toilers on the Rand under the yoke of the gold and coal magnates, should, however, remember the following clause of the Report:

> (6) "The ignorance of the large masses of the mine workers of the true functions of trade unionism, and the deplorable weakness of the augmented executive."

These are true words. Every honest worker on the Rand knows that as long as only such old-fashioned Trade Unionism exists for the protection of the workers' interests, and as long as augmented executives will spend millions of words in vain, instead of acting quickly when there is need, the weakness of the workers' organisations will lead them to defeat.

The gold and coal magnates of South Africa are paying great attention to the fact that large numbers of agrarian workers who had become miners are enrolling in the Mine Workers' Union. The oppressors do not perhaps realise the inherent weakness of the Mine Workers' Union, which should give way to an All-Workers' Union of South Africa and Rhodesia, organised on industrial lines. The workers' enemy probably does not guess the importance of this.

Should the workers enrol in a One Revolutionary Industrial Union, the enemy would not dare to use the present bloody methods of coercion.

Now let us turn to the so-called intrigue of the South African Communist Party which is given in the Report as a cause of the disorders. Many pages of valueless inventions are devoted to giving the impression that all the workers who participated in the recent strike were Nationalists converted into class-conscious Communists. Had this been the case, the workers on the Rand would now have given the verdict on that Capitalist exploitation which created the Rand misery and starvation, and is the one and only cause of the Rand revolt, and any further revolts that may come.

The Report quotes the following Press notice issued to the natives by the Prime Minister:

> "I am sending this message to assure you that you need in no way be alarmed or disturbed about these conditions [the strike]) The matter in dispute between the white workers and the employers will be settled without any necessity for anxiety on your part. Remain quietly in your compounds and obey the orders of the Government given you through the Director of Native Labour and compound managers. By so doing you will receive the necessary protection. On the other hand, any disobedience or disorder will be promptly dealt with. I feel sure that the message will find you ready listeners, and that your conduct will remain law-abiding and obedient until work is resumed upon the mines."
>
> "This message," says the Report, "was published throughout the Rand areas and right through the Union."

The Report continues:

> "On January 18th Charles Veldman and other headmen of the Butterworth district, a large district from which very large numbers of recruits are obtained for work on the gold mines, requested the magistrate of Butterworth to convey the following message from them to the natives in the mines:
>
> "'We, the headmen and people, in meeting assembled, have heard of the strike, and impress upon you, our people in the mines, to remain quiet and obey the orders of the Government, who assure us they will protect you, and we are satisfied all will soon be well again.'"

This message was transmitted to the natives employed in the mines.

> "On January 19th the native newspaper having the largest circulation upon the Rand, published an article urging the natives to sit down and keep quiet and have nothing to do with the strike."
>
> "Mr. Godfrey, a medical practitioner at Johannesburg, who is the leader of an organisation representing the Indian and coloured communities upon the Rand, also told his people to keep absolutely quiet."

Such statements prove conclusively that the Government was in the service of the mine magnates, and it invited all churches, pulpits, doctors and magistrates to send to the Kaffir chiefs manufactured declarations, notes and messages to remain scabbing, promising them the protection of the same Constitutional Government.

Against whom did the worker then fight his battle? By whom were they defeated? They fought and were defeated by the Constitutional Government, of course. Had they fought against the Chamber of Mines alone, no doubt the workers would have been victorious. The Government prepared an efficient trap for the mine workers. It secured a considerable scabbing by natives, and thereby created hatred between the White and Coloured workers. Then the same "Constitutional representatives" pressed martial law through the Constitutional Assembly founded on the constitutionally prepared provocation. Afterwards workers were constitutionally killed and massacred. Now they are constitutionally hung upon the evidence of provocators, doctors and magistrates.

I wonder whether the great bulk of the Rand workers will at last grasp the Constitutional tricks by which they are vanquished.

After all, is not the present Government, directly or indirectly, the exploiter, speculator, and profit-maker? Is not the Constituent Assembly the protector of Mammon?

It is clear to the worker on the Rand that the Commission of Inquiry has not been called either to abolish or minimise the punishment, but for the reverse purpose. We see now more and more comrades sentenced to death. Stassen is dead, Hul, Lewish, and Long are also going to be hanged.

Make no mistake, workers of the Rand, unless you act in a more determined manner than you have done, there is still more to come. The vengeance of the exploiters of labour will not be satisfied until they are checked by a strongly organised active resistance of those whom they oppress. As long as the worker is pulled away by his leaders to the Constitutional assemblies, the bosses will execute their victims.

MORE ABOUT THE BRITISH EMPIRE UNION NEXT WEEK.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

Visible Means.

A man walking home late at night, after the last 'buses had gone, saw an old woman lying in the gutter and uttering piteous groans.

He helped her to rise, but found she had injured her foot and could not stand without assistance.

"I'll see you home," he said to the old woman, but she replied that she had no home and nowhere to go.

Just then a policeman appeared dimly in the darkness on the other side of the road. The man seated the old woman carefully in a doorway, and went across the road to seek the advice of the arm of the law.

"I don't know what to do with her," the man concluded, in puzzled anxiety, when he had told the story; then added, with what he imagined a brilliant after-thought:

"Can't you lock her up for the night?"

The policeman, in his big boots, strode heavily across the road to the old woman, and asked her if she had any money.

The old woman delved amongst her petticoats, and after much searching produced three pennies.

"Can't you lock her up for the night?" ventured the man again, growing a little impatient, because of the lateness of the hour and the damp cold that was nipping his toes as he waited.

"No," answered the policeman, "I can't," and indicating the three pennies lying in the old dame's open palm: "She's got visible means."

"What if I were to pinch the threepence from her?" the man ventured, hoping still to find a shelter for the injured old woman.

"I can't let you do that," said the policeman, and strode away as heavily and deliberately as he had come.

Guiltily, remorsefully, the man put a little money into the old woman's hand and hurried away out of earshot of her wailing.

A typical incident, good people, in this selfish society of buying and selling, where want is rampant although 100 men can produce all that is necessary to deliver the bread of 10,000 people at their homes.

We can produce more than we can use. There is no need that old men and women should suffer thus and should thus go down in neglected poverty to their graves.

(Continued from p. 7.)

In most cases the Report justifies all the actions of the military and police. When not fully justified, they are condoned and called "regrettable" and "unavoidable," as in the case of the Hannekoms. The same Commission of Inquiry stated:

> "On the evidence submitted, the Commission is satisfied that no Court of Law or jury would have been justified in convicting Captain Kirby, or any of the members of the escort, of wrongfully causing the death of these four men."

Every worker on the Rand knows well who should be hanged instead of those who are suffering execution now.

If the Rand workers really mean to put a stop to all the atrocities of the idle bloodthirsty class of South Africa, they must not content themselves with begging for mercy or seeking truth in Capitalist assemblies. They must organise themselves in an All-Workers' Industrial Revolutionary Union of Workshop Committees.

By doing so they will achieve a position from which they may give their own verdict, not only upon the few hangmen of South Africa, but on Capitalist existence as a whole.

B. KREEL.

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

All Books Reviewed may be obtained from Dreadnought Office, 152 Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

Album of the Funeral of Peter Kropotkin in Moscow, a series of impressive photographs with an introduction by Rudolf Rocker, 1/-. Berlin.

"The Kronstadt Rebellion," by Alexandra Berkman, printed in Germany, 1s-. This pamphlet shows clearly (whilst it is not the first account which has done so) that the Kronstadt rebellion against the Russian Soviet Government was by no means a White Guard insurrection, but an uprising of sailors, workers, and peasants against Bolshevik bureaucracy, against the suppression of Left propaganda and freedom generally, and against the privileges and economic inequalities which have developed under the Bolshevik regime. The resolutions passed by the general meeting of the crews of the first and second squadrons of the Baltic Fleet, which formed the basis of the Kronstadt demands, were as follows:

"(1) As the present Soviets do not express the will of the workers and peasants, immediately to hold new elections by secret ballot, the pre-election campaign to have full freedom of agitation among the workers and peasants;

"(2) To establish freedom of speech and Press for workers and peasants, for Anarchists and left Socialist parties;

"(3) To secure freedom of assembly for labour unions and peasant organisations;

"(4) To call a non-partisan Conference of the workers, Red Army soldiers and sailors of Petrograd, Kronstadt, and of Petrograd Province, no later than March 10th, 1921;

"(5) To liberate all political prisoners of Socialist parties, and workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors imprisoned in connection with the labour and peasant movements;

"(6) To elect a Commission to review the cases of those held in prison and concentration camps;

"(7) To abolish all 'politotdeli' (political bureaus) because no party should be given special privileges in the propagation of its ideas or receive the financial support of the Government for such purposes. Instead there should be established educational and cultural commissions, locally elected and financed by the Government;

"(8) To abolish immediately all 'zagryaditelniye otryadi' *;

"(9) To equalise the rations of all who work, with the exception of those employed in trades detrimental to health;

"(10) To abolish the Communist fighting detachments in all branches of the Army, as well as the Communist guards kept on duty in mills and factories. Should such guards or military detachments be found necessary, they are to be appointed in the Army from the ranks, and in the factories according to the judgment of the workers.

"(11) To give the peasants full freedom of action in regard to their land, and also the right to keep cattle, on condition that the peasants manage with their own means; that is, without employing hired labour;

"(12) To request all branches of the Army, as well as our comrades the military 'kursanti,' to concur in our resolutions;

"(13) To demand that the Press give the fullest publicity to our resolutions;

"(14) To appoint a Travelling Commission of Control;

"(15) To permit free 'kustarnoye' (individual small scale) production by one's own efforts.

"* Armed units organised by the Bolsheviki for the purpose of suppressing traffic and confiscating foodstuffs and other products. The irresponsibility and arbitrariness of their methods were proverbial throughout the country. The Government abolished them in the Petrograd Province on the eve of its attack against Kronstadt—a bribe to the Petrograd proletariat."

It may be said that the Kronstadt movement was not a fully conscious Communist one: it was a movement of the poor oppressed against their oppressor—unfortunately, in this case, the Soviet Government and the Soviet bourgeoisie. The Kronstadt rebels asked for equal food rations for all; and the sailors, to prove their sincerity, abandoned the privileged ration which the Bolsheviki had given them in relation to the ordinary toiler.

The Kronstadt rebels adhered to the principle that no one may hire another for private gain, but apparently they still favoured production for profit on a small scale. The Soviet Government might perhaps truthfully say: "They are not Communist"; but the Soviet Government has re-established the hiring of labour and production for profit on a large scale.

Imperial Washington, by Senator R. F. Pettigrew, Kerr's, Chicago, a rather disjointed and superficial book.

The author supports the idea of a workers' revolution and denounces corruption in United States politics. Doubtless its attacks on certain well-known American politicians will secure the book a wide circulation in America. Coming from one who has associated with ten United States Presidents and with the leading members of the Republican and Democratic Parties during a long period, the book is likely to impress the unconverted who have faith in those whom the newspapers call statesmen.

COURAGE.

Courage is but a word, and yet, of words,
The only sentinel of permanence;
The ruddy watch-fire of cold winter days,
We steal its comfort, lift our weary swords,
And on. For faith—without it—has no sense;
And love to wind of doubt and tremor sways;
And life for ever quaking marsh must tread.
Laws give it not, before it prayer will blush,
Hope has it not, nor pride of being true.
'Tis the mysterious soul which never yields,
But hales us on and on to breast the rush
Of all the fortunes we shall happen through.
And when death calls across his shadowy fields——
Dying, it answers: "Here! I am not dead!"

JOHN GALSWORTHY.

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